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On the Question of Arming the People.

Old German artisans can still remember the GUILDS ("Zunfte") which lasted from the middle ages far into the Nineteenth century. In the industries of old they had a similar position to that held by the labor unions in modern industries, with this essential difference, however, that in those days the employers (masters) were members of the UNIONS, and indeed completely controlled them. This disadvantage was offset by the fact that in those days every ordinary journeyman had an opportunity to become a master himself, for the tools were then primitive and cheap. An opposite interest between master and journeyman did not make itself felt strongly until the beginning of the modern era.

The guilds played a great role in the medieval cities of Europe. Every one who knows history is aware of the fierce fights they waged in Germany, England, Italy, France and Brabant. The guilds not only defended the cities against the knights, princes and bishops; in the latter part of the middle ages they also fought bloody battles against the patricians and merchants in the cities themselves. All the privileges and liberties of the lower middle classes in Europe before the French revolution were the result of these battles. Although the battles themselves generally ended in the defeat of the common people, yet for fear of new uprisings the ruling class in the cities—the patricians—usually granted afterwards of their own accord what they had refused before with force of arms. Of course, the complete emancipation of the city population was only effected by the two great revolutions, the English in the Seventeenth century, and the French in the Eighteenth century.

At any rate, the crafts, guilds and companies, in spite of all the grotesque and barbaric machinery connected with them, rendered great service to mankind during the Middle Ages and saved the masses of the people from enslavement. For what they gained was afterwards a benefit to the peasantry also, who in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries flocked to the cities in great numbers.

With the hand-industries the crafts and guilds of course disappeared; in their place have arisen the labor unions. England was the first country in which large industries worked with machinery developed to any extent, and there first the labor unions became numerous and powerful.

But the influence which the crafts, companies and guilds wielded in their time is not possessed by the labor unions of the present day, neither in England nor any other country.

In the number of their members, the unions are indeed incomparably stronger than the guilds ever were, but the POWER of our modern labor organizations is incomparably smaller than the power of the labor organizations in the Middle Ages.

What is the cause of this strange contradiction? The reason lies close at hand. In the struggle for existence, people only respect what they fear. This law holds just as good today as it did a thousand years ago.

The medieval guilds were respected because they were COMBATANTS. They were armed. The modern labor unions are despised and scorned because they are NON-COMBATANTS. They are unarmed.

Do not misunderstand us. We know right well that the "SOCIAL QUESTION" can no more be solved by street riots and insurrections, than by bombs and dynamite. Yet, by the ballot ALONE, it will also scarcely ever be solved. Up to this time, men have always solved great questions by BLOOD and IRON.

Every sensible man will admit, however, that in our country the ballot-box may contribute more to the solution of the problem than any other means, because the ballot can put in our hands the necessary power to solve the question either one way or the other.

But it is not easy to manage a ballot in this country; indeed, it is not easy in any country. It requires considerably more personal intelligence to handle a ballot rightly than to handle a shotgun. Even ignorant men handle a shotgun carefully, but not a ballot. And, therefore, in this country far more mischief has been done by ballots than by bullets. At any rate, workmen whose standard of life has sunk lowest understand least how to handle a ballot. Moreover, they are least accessible to education and enlightenment.

And what is worse, the workmen who have sunk the lowest are bought up the easiest. They furnish the capitalists not only with VOTING CATTLE, but also with Pinkertons and deputy sheriffs and soldiers.

For example, in the state of Pennsylvania live the most enslaved workmen of the present America. But it is just there, in spite of the experiences of Humstead and Hazelton, of steelworker strikes and miners' strikes, that the Republicans get their largest majorities. These men who were knocked down like rabbits by the constables of the steel trust voted Republican last November and for beer, cigars, fine words and free lunches, will vote the Republican ticket again next fall, if their lives are spared. Only if had should come to worse and votes come high, they will so vote that in the coming year they will no longer be shot by Republican deputy sheriffs, but by Democratic deputy sheriffs instead.

The standard of life of these poor wage-slaves has sunk so low that it goes without saying they can make no intelligent use of the ballot. From men who like the Pennsylvania miners earn a dollar a day on an average when times are good, no sensible political action can be expected as a rule. And the worst is, their children are degenerating to a still lower condition.

Similar conditions prevail in other states. There is no soil among such workers for a campaign of education and enlightenment.

If such conditions should become universal in our country, and the tendency of the times is to make them universal, then our civilization at some future day will meet a fearful end. The horde of hungry slaves will become ever larger and more ignorant. When that heated kettle of poison boils over some day and empties its hellish contents, when the hunted millions turn around and fall upon their masters and their families—then not only our pseudo-culture, but probably all culture, will be destroyed for a thousand years to come.

A further lowering of the standard of living of the working people must therefore be prevented at any cost, in the interest of Humanity.

But the great question is, how to accomplish it?

How?

Of that more in our next issue.

Remember, we do not believe that we can jump from the capitalist system into the Co-operative Commonwealth over night. Yet, we want to WASTE NO TIME on palliatives or patches or extensions of the PRESENT system. We want SOCIAL REFORMS that proceed to a CHANGE OF BASE at once. There is the cardinal point in which we differ from capitalist reforms.

We do not believe in force, unless cornered. But in case one is compelled to fight for his freedom, one should be prepared for the emergency. We think every proletarian owes it to his cause, his family and himself to quit drinking and smoking and to acquire a well-selected little library and a good magazine subscription. Yes, books and guns. And a free man ought to learn how to use them both. The library in times of peace, the gun in case of war. Yet, no man who uses intoxicants in any form is to be trusted with a gun, and our advice would only hold good to abstainers.

The Social Democratic Herald readily admits that the majority of the rank and file of all the political parties are honest and to the Social Democratic Herald a man who votes the Republican or Democratic ticket is not so ipso a rascal or a fool. All we claim is that the man has in most cases not heard the other side, or at least has not heard it explained right. Besides, a man may be averse to

That would please the monopoly, which has no more love for its tools than we have. Oh, no—we are after bigger game. We are after the monopoly itself. And the monopoly is spending its money in vain. Monopoly is dying. The era of the people is at hand. Do you suppose that any contract made last year will be binding for the twenty-five years in the future? If it did, the next generation would have to be made up of even bigger fools than we are. The next generation will laugh at such contracts. One generation can bind the other only when its own children are imbeciles. That our children will not be.

In truth, all social wealth is the creature of CO-OPERATIVE LABOR. Labor could effect no noticeable improvement in human conditions were the effort made in personal isolation and disjointed from the product of the labors of the past and the anticipated future. The only question practically arising is one of division and ownership. Shall the division of brain and brawn, of the past, present and future production of wealth be made by a ratio of deed, of work performed, or by rule of birth, inheritance, of money and usurped privilege? Every man and woman in the land should choose sides on this question.

A New York Socialist paper has been excluded from the mails as second-class matter and hence practically suppressed, by the order of the third assistant postmaster general, on the ground that "it advertised his (the editor's) ideas too much." Well, if things have come to that pass, that an editor cannot "advertise his ideas," there will be mighty few of us left, after a little. Some of the brethren, however, will be perfectly safe, but we wouldn't like to mention their names for fear of creating hard feelings. —Appleton Post (Rep.).

The biggest wood-working plant in the state of California has been erected by the unions of San Francisco and is now turning out material as fast as 2000 union carpenters can place it on the building in San Francisco and Oakland. It gives employment to 100 union mill men. And while these things do not help "to solve the social question," they ought to be encouraged because they show that while capital is necessary, the capitalist is superfluous.

A New Municipal Issue.

Eureka! Finally in Milwaukee our small shopkeepers and ditto business men who would like to become millionaires, may have a brand new issue in the next municipal campaign, and that will be of the greatest interest to large classes of our population. But alas! as usual the interests of the different groups of these men of business are not identical, in fact, they are antagonistic.

About this time of the year—i. e., between Thanksgiving and Christmas—most of the small printing shops in the outlying districts of the city are busy in rushing out handbills for saloonkeepers announcing turkey and poultry raffles, and in almost every saloon there is a row of these announcements pinned to the wall telling the reader that at this, that or the other saloon the opportunity to win a fowl or two will be afforded on some certain night.

But another set of business men of Milwaukee look with envy upon this bit of enterprise on the part of the saloonkeepers. The retail butchers know by experience that the saloonkeepers buy their turkeys, geese, chickens, etc., wholesale, thus not only robbing the retail butchers of the profit due to the middle man but also robbing them of their customers.

Therefore the members of the Retail Marketmen's association are clamoring for an enforcement of the law against gambling so far as it reaches these raffle saloons, and claim that the district attorney has recently decided them contrary to law.

But Chief Janssen of the police force says that the district attorney gave him no opinion on the subject. The chief knows that it was not the butchers "that made Milwaukee famous" and refuses to have anything to do with the matter. "I know nothing about the turkey raffles. I do not know that there are any going on at the present time," said he.

But the meat men declare that they will not let the matter drop.

The thing is up to the mayor now, and probably even the Ministers' association, that is just now looking after vice in Milwaukee, may take a hand in the fight.

So we should not be surprised a bit if this war on turkey should develop to be one of the issues of the capitalist parties in the Milwaukee municipal campaign next spring—both sides claiming to represent the "rights of the people."

If this should be the case, we will suggest that they raffie out which side is to win and save the city the cost of an election.

India seems to be the land of cheap railway traveling. The returns of the East Indian railway show that in twelve months 18,500,000 passengers used the line, and that of these 17,000,000 traveled third or lowest class. The cost of carrying was one-eighth of a penny per mile, and the charge to the passenger was a little more than one farthing. Great as is

the difference between the cost of transit by this line and our parliamentary or even workmen's rates, the comparison between incomes of the lowest class of passengers in India and Great Britain is still greater. The average monthly income of the former is shillings (25 cents) corresponds with the number of pounds (five dollars) earned by the latter in a like period.—London Globe.

And in China the wages are even lower than in India. That is the reason why Secretary Gage and his clique of plutocrats are in favor of the repeal of the Geary law prohibiting the importation of Coolies. And there are some Socialists dogmatic and doctrinaire and stupid enough to talk and vote in favor of the repeal. But we really cannot see that even the capitalist class would be benefited by bringing our working class down to the level of Chinamen and Hindoos. Secretary Gage ought to study the reports of the railroad earnings in India and China, and that alone ought to settle the matter.

The industrial crisis just now holding sway in Germany is terrible to contemplate. In Berlin alone there are 30,000 men out of work. It is hard to tell what will be the outcome. Is Germany as in this country most of the wealth is tied up in the hands of a small class, while the vast majority is suffering the most abject and humiliating poverty. Besides under the present capitalist system where workmen cannot get the full value of their work—the employing class making a profit on it—such industrial crises (PANICS) we call them in this country) are bound to appear in more or less regular intervals. And one of two things is bound to happen sooner or later in every civilized country. During some crisis the people will rise up in their madness and wipe the capitalist class literally off the face of the earth, abolish civilization and go back to barbarism. Or, the people will use sense and gradually vote capitalism out of existence and introduce the Socialist system, which will mean a higher and more just civilization.

Roman civilization went on a rapid pace towards extinction when the wealth of the people became massed in a few hands. Even the Anarchist agitator, a scourge as he may be, is a blessing to the country, compared to those self-satisfied conservatives who can't see that a like congestion of capital in the United States will produce a like disease, which, if it runs long enough, will be attended with the old Roman results, if the people do not adopt the only remedy—SOCIALISM as it comes and is made necessary.

Again we say the daily press of this country and some of the monthly magazines are the most rotten elements in our public life today. They are owned and controlled by men who are wholly mercenary, unprincipled, avaricious, corrupt and corrupting. Most of them will have to be exterminated some day in order to improve the race.

It is well known that the men who conducted the main industries down South—mean south of the Mason and Dixon's line—before the War of the Rebellion were compelled by law to provide for their operatives in industry and idleness, in sickness or health. The workers were black and slaves. Now the employers down South do not have to do any such thing. The workers are mostly white and they are free.

John D. Rockefeller, Sr., the Standard Oil magnate, has been superintendent of a Baptist Sunday-school for thirty-five years. And now his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has also taken up the good work. They are both good men, always ready to PREY.

When the capitalist surplus account of a nation absorbs more than half its production, the point is reached when determined men must call a halt. If, after deducting the expense of sustaining mere life in the working people and paying the cost of government that keeps them in subjection and ignorance, there is in the midst of all this "prosperity" nothing left for the class that produces it all, then the time is reached when trouble may be looked for within a short time. This covers the situation in the United States, and the political economist does not live who can successfully dispute it. The statement can be proven by the twelfth census.

In a co-operative commonwealth there will be no kings, capitalists or idlers, but a grand people, whole, happy, educated and free, held together by a fabric of social labor and individual enjoyment.

From all over the world we hear the complaint that immorality and crime are growing. No wonder. The effect of too much hard work is the same as that of too little—it is brutalizing and demoralizing. It is perhaps a shocking thing to say that the morality of many of the children of the slums of large cities is really on a par with the morality of the sons and daughters of our millionaires.

Usury, in one form or another, is the foundation in which this capitalist supremacy stands. Labor is an essential factor in the earning of "interest money." The cheaper the labor employed in any enterprise the more interest and profit can be paid out of the "surplus value" of the laborer's work. Rest assured that the capitalist will insist on the utmost possible amount of profit being squeezed out of any business in

Anarchism Impossible in Practice.

We are not afraid of the Anarchists ever playing any other part in public life than that of shocking the people. And people soon grow weary of being shocked; the shock that is expected loses half its effect.

One thing is clear: Anarchism is impossible.

When you leave the domain of imagination and begin to walk among earthly things, the impossibility of Anarchism becomes obvious at once.

You will at once see commodities and possessions the axes of which are debatable, you will at once encounter common rights and communal matters that are naturally within the region of dispute.

Where there is no law, no code of regulations, no trihanal of decision, most differences of opinion will have to be settled by force of arms. Under such circumstances the strongest, the most cunning and the most selfish will come out on top.

But the tendency of all teaching and of all true philosophy is to neutralize the selfishness of human beings; to substitute altruism for the egotism of the rules of brute force. It cannot be supposed that even in an anarchic community the selfish bully would be allowed to trample on his weaker and less assertive fellowman. That is pretty certain.

Yet, whenever some self-appointed body, term them "vigilance committee," "regulators," or what you like, step forward to control the unruly, to curb the ill-behaved, to protect the feeble, from that moment "rule" is re-established.

Anarchy would therefore simply set aside elected or appointed government for self-selected or self-appointed control.

Now, rule is rule, no matter who the ruler may be.

And since even Anarchists seem to acknowledge that in a thickly-populated, highly civilized country there must be some generally accepted rules for communal and territorial (using this term in a general sense) guidance—then even Anarchists must see that Anarchy is practically out of question in a civilized country.

which he is interested. And capitalists as a class control our entire production and the distribution thereof. And control means complete mastery in this case. The capitalist does not only control the factories, mines, railroads, telegraphs, telephones and steamship lines, but he is also master of the workmen who depend on employment and who are held in ignorance and subjection. The capitalist class has no use for workmen possessed of manliness, intelligence and independence. The capitalist class looks to profit and interest money. That and that alone.

The following dispatch we find in a Milwaukee morning paper:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 22.—An old-fashioned pillory system of punishment which it is claimed has the sanction of the board of directors, of which Bishop Samuel Fallows is president, has been asserted at the Pontiac (Ill.) state reformatory. 'The pillory is a door with two holes in the upper panel. Through these holes the prisoner puts his hands and a chain is attached to the wrists to keep them in place. The arms are thus extended on a level with the shoulder and can be moved in no direction because the holes in the door are not large enough to permit it.'

"In this trying position Charles Miller, a 10-year-old boy, asserts he was forced to spend twenty hours at a stretch. He was taken down for ten minutes at noon, when bread and water were furnished him. Sept. Mallory of the reformatory is quoted as corroborating the statement. Young Miller's offense was whispering in school."

And we call this a civilized country. And we live in the Twentieth century. And Bishop Samuel Fallows is considered a great and good man and a "reformer."

To him—with such philanthropists!

Christ scourged the money changers out of the temple—says the Bible. Now most of the temples are owned by the "money changers," or they have at least a mortgage on them.

Any sensible man looking at the fight between our Republican governor, Robert La Follette, and the Republican party machine of this state, and at the manner it is conducted on both sides, must become disgusted with capitalist parties and capitalist politicians for the rest of his life.

The street railway company is made the black beast of hatred in this city. Now, admitted that it is a thievish concern. That it will buy up our schemes at a cheap price—thereby depressing the common council market for Chicago—and that Messrs. Payne and Fischer never have any scruples against taking the mayor into the bargain whenever they find such a proceeding necessary for the welfare of the company. But admitting all this, wherein is the railway company worse than the gaslight company or any other company or contractor that has dealings with the city? Why, even the justices and constables of our county cheat the county whenever and wherever they can, and they all act the same, without difference of party, nationality, religion or other previous condition of servitude. This is capitalism, and with the unwritten law. "Do the others, or the others will do you," what can you expect? A man needs backbone and the new ethics, the ethics of Socialism, to stand straight in this crowd.

"This dying for principle is all rot," said our worthy reform mayor, David S. Rose, at the Democratic national convention in Kansas City last year. Now let's see what Mayor Rose will die for next spring.

The Chinese exclusive convention, composed of 3000 delegates, representing the state and county governments and industrial and civic organizations in all parts of California, met in San Francisco last Friday and adopted the following resolutions:

"First, we demand the continuance of existing treaties with China and the re-enactment of the Geary exclusion law."

"Second, we recommend that the California delegates in Congress act unitedly in the presentation of a bill to accomplish the purpose and use their utmost

endeavors to secure its immediate enactment into a law.

As a supplemental report the committee on resolutions presented a statement, which was adopted, recognizing the menace to the industrial conditions of the coast of the rapidly increasing number of Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants, and asking that the matter be referred to the executive committee with instructions to take such steps as may be necessary to secure all possible protection in the evils set forth.

And in our opinion the Socialists of California, and of the entire country for that matter, ought to support the movement. Otherwise the capitalists will not only reduce us all to the level of the Chinese within a short time, but some day also have enough coolies and negroes to shoot us down, if we should revolt. When Marx said: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" he meant the proletariat of civilized countries, not of Shang-Hay and Timbuctoo.

The following flowers of the capitalist system are taken from a single column of a daily paper:

Treston, N. J., Nov. 25.—John B. Harding, the 86-year-old son of his adopted daughter, aged 20 years, has officially announced that the wedding will occur Friday.

Mr. Harding took the young woman when she was a child only 9 years old, and she has lived with his family ever since. She has always called him "grandpa." The old man has made the following statement:

"I have concluded to marry because of the fact that a certain individual who has completely stripped me of my property through his sharp practice, has made threats that he will attach my property. The old man has made the following statement:

Binghamton, N. Y., Nov. 25.—Nelson Burr, an extensive property owner of the city, was ordered to take a bath and purchase a new suit of clothes by the board of health. He says he took the bath and he got the new clothes, but objects to wearing them, as he says his old ones are pretty good yet. Burr lives alone in a large brick block, which is full of old furniture and oddities, including his coffin and grave-stone.

Newark, N. J., Nov. 25.—An old engine cylinder is the novel home of William Berkheimer, a machinist, whose age and reverses have brought him down in the world. Berkheimer has lived there for more than two months, supporting himself by doing odd jobs in the neighborhood. The cylinder is three feet wide and six feet long and during the cold nights of the past week the man has been obliged to lie crumpled up on the cold iron with no covering but his clothing.

Let us analyze these cases with a few words as possible.

The 86-year-old man in Trenton married his adopted daughter of 20 in order to secure the meagre pension of a few paltry dollars a month. And the young woman evidently did not marry him because she was in love, but because she wanted to keep her home.

The extensive property owner in Binghamton, N. Y., who had to be compelled to buy a new suit of clothes and to take a bath is also a product of this system with its terrible uncertainty of livelihood and possible misery in old age, which is so pathetically illustrated by the last case, the old man making his home in an old cylinder.

Down with this miserable system that breeds misery and crime and prostitution everywhere.

The whole trouble in the Republican party is sliding itself down to this simple question: Shall the government be under the control of a few "money bags"?—Plymouth Review, It p.

The editor of the Plymouth Review ought to be shown in the dime museums of this country for editing a "Republican" paper and asking such a question. He has surely reached the pinnacle of stupidity or hypocrisy. Or can it be that he is playing pinhead so much that he cannot hear nor see what is going on in the world?

A strike of patternmakers has been on at Denver for two months, with no prospect of settlement. The local association at that place requests all patternmakers to stay away until notified.

Sent by Rev. Thos. McGrady to the Editor of the Catholic Columbian.

dealing with Mgr. Moretti, Mgr. Ghersi and Pere Vergnaud in Miss Corelli's "Master Christian," and Cardinal Montanelli in Voynich's "Gads."

Socialism does not begot Atheism any more than chemistry begets infidelity. Socialism is an economic science, not a religious creed. We must look elsewhere for the causes of Atheism than in Socialism. The so-called father of the Democracy, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, was an infidel; and Robert Engewool, the agnostic, was a leading Republican in his day. The early fathers of the Church were, as a rule, Socialists, and they showed strong tendencies toward Atheism. For a more detailed account of their fearless championship of the masses I refer you to Breutano's "Die Arbeiterversicherungsgesetze der heutigen Wirtschaftsgesellschaft." (Leipzig, 1879.)

But assert, further, that "some Socialists are in favor of a peaceable and equitable division of all wealth among the people, each man own just as much as his neighbor." You do not know even the alphabet of Socialism. Wealth is the stored-up product of the labor of the man who has honestly received your fortune by inheritance, says St. John Chrysostom, "so be it that therefore, you have not sinned personally against him, but you have sinned against him by not enjoying the fruits of the crime committed before you" (in Epist. ad Thim., 12). Under Socialism man's wealth would disappear by a process of elimination and division of his fortunes. The people would take away all the means of production and distribution and every man would receive the fruits of his toil. Competition would cease and with it the cause of competition, the exploitation of the workingman would end. It would be impossible for the rich man to continue in possession

...involuntary when he could no longer
pay labor, the market and market
large margins of profit, and he would
his money could not, therefore, be
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and rent; and would, in the course
time, diminish to such a point as w
from the rich man himself to become
producer.

...you say that Socialism would
"put a premium on laziness and inef
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trary; for every man would receive th
full product of his labor. Socialism doe

you without a murmur; and the man should bear in mind, moreover, that laziness is a disease of the tissues, out of the will. As I have remarked elsewhere, "The mothers were born tired, because their mothers labored like gayety since during gestation, and the unborn child was impregnated with ennu and insinuation, and comes into the world cursed with physical debility." (Socialism and the Law of Heredity, p. 27.) The inexorable law of heredity, therefore, with the worn-out nerves and life-cells of enervated overwork. Under Socialism a marvelous labor-saving machinery of our times would enable men to do a day's work in three hours, and the danger of physical prostration would be removed and, therefore, the causes of laziness.

You tell a story of a friend whose wife seemed to be "Working for humanity." I asked to know why this Socialist was routed, bled and beaten by a religious man with whom he was conversing, and you relate that "just at the close of the conversation, the clergyman noticed two Sisters of Charity from a nearby hospice."

you see those two women, crawling the street? He replied, 'Yes, why?' The answer was, 'Well, those two women, doing more for humanity in one day than you are in a month.' Our friend, looking crest-fallen, replied: 'Well, I guess you are about right.' With all due respect for, and high appreciation of these good Sisters of Charity, I protest against this comparison. From what source did these Sisters of Charity get the funds to build the hospital? Ultimately out of the State's pockets, I suspect.

under the present system gets only one-fifth of the product of his labor. The capitalist robs him of the remaining four-fifths; and—as a salve to his conscience—makes a pretense of giving it back to some ostentatious charity. In this analysis, the hospital is built by the tolls, and the Sisters of Charity are mere making restitution to the laborer, not bestowing na unearned charity upon him.

In conclusion, I challenge you to debate the principles of Socialism in the columns of your paper, or on the public stage. If you have erred through a lack of precise knowledge I am willing to retract. But if you insist on the Socialism, in any case I will not stand idly by and let you misrepresent the principles and demands of Socialism in a great Catholic paper whose loftiest purpose should be the spread of Truth on all hazards. Respectfully,
T. McGRADY,
Pastor of St. Anthony's Church, Bellevue, Kentucky.

modern society reveals the face of the Sphinx that cries out to us, "Solve or perish." Whatever is the cause, and whatever may be the remedy, threatening social facts stare us in the face.

"Reduced to its lowest terms, the task of the Twentieth century is to solve the labor problem. It is to settle and settle right the struggle between capital and labor. It is to solve the trust problem. It is to meet and answer the problem of involuntary poverty in the midst of an abundant material life."

played. It is to guarantee to every man access to the material resources of life and on basis of justice and brotherhood. It is to abolish complete and incipient monopoly and make impossible the control of industry by any man or group of men. It is to make the city, the state and the nation free, the complete and the demoralizing power of aristocratic wealth. It is to make free every human being to live out the richest possibility of his being. It is the problem. How feed, clothe and house all of the people all of the time, to guarantee to all that just share in our wondrous material progress, and that they may be free to develop their intellectual and spiritual energies to the utmost.—I. Stitt Wilson.

There has been all kinds of gush about the

Up the rugged mountain side a thousand
feet he takes his way,
Or as far into the darkness from the cheer-
ing light of day;
He is blown out from the sunlight, is the
summer of the lamp;
He is blown out from the sweet air in the
sickly fumes and damps;
He is not lit in cramped positions; he must
make his life in band,
For he works in oceanic peril that but few
can understand;
But he does it all in silence, and he seldom
makes a kick,
Which is why I sing the praises of the man
behind the pick.

Borrowing Expensive.

A man who was too economical to make a paper sent his little boy to borrow the copy taken by his neighbor. In his haste the boy ran over a \$1 stand of bees and in ten minutes looked like a

A man who was too economical to take a paper sent his little boy to borrow the copy taken by his neighbor. In his haste the boy ran over a 5¢ stand of bees and in ten minutes looked like a

Moral: Save your money by spending it and subscribe for 'The Herald.

"Now," said the big buck deer to his eldest born, "I will show you a sight that you never saw before, and I am so proud of it that I feel like walking around on my hind legs all the rest of my life."

Karl Burkli Dead.

From Switzerland the death is announced of Karl Burkli. He was born at Zurich on July 30, 1823. He was a tanner and when young went to work at Hamburg. He there became a convert

Crisis in British Coal Trade

Comrade John Penny, national secretary of the Independent Labor party of England, in a letter to *The Herald*, writes on the crisis in the British coal trade as

The South Wales coal owners are in a state of alarm, though why it is difficult to see. One would think that restriction of output which treats them all alike would not interfere with the profits of any individual. However, at a special meeting they decided to resist holiday making to the uttermost. Their decision is to prosecute.

The third clause promises to be of vast importance. Prior to the decision in the Taff Vale case, the funds of the federations could not have been touched, but

UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

individual producers, of commodity-producers, the new mode of production thrust itself. In the midst of the old division of labor, grown up spontaneously and upon no definite plan, which had governed the whole of society, now arose division of labor upon a definite plan, organized in the factory, side by side with individual production appeared social production. The products of both were sold in the same market, and, therefore, at prices at least approximately equal. But organization upon a definite plan was stronger than spontaneous division of labor. The factories working with the combined social forces of a collectivity of individuals produced their products far more cheaply than the individual producers. Individual production succumbed to social production after another. 'Socialized production revolutionized all the old methods of production. But its revolutionary character was, at the same time, so little recognized, that it was, on the contrary, introduced as a means of increasing and deepening the precision of commodities. When it arose it was made, and made liberal use of, certain means for the production and exchange of commodities; merchants' capital, handicraft wage-labor. Socialized production thus introduced itself as a new form of the production of commodities, it was a material force that under it the old forms of appropriation retained in full swing and were applied to its products as well.

the production of commodities, the question as to the owner of the product and the labor could not arise. The individual producer, as a rule, had, from raw material belonging to himself, and generally his own handwork, produced it with his own tools, by the labor of his own hands or of his family. There was no need for him to appropriate the new product; it belonged wholly to him, as a matter of course. His property in the product was, therefore, based upon his own labor. Even where external help was used, this was, as a rule, of little importance, and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The apprentices and journeymen of the guilds worked less for board and wages than for education, in order that they might become master craftsmen themselves.

Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the products in large workshops and manufacturing enterprises, and the development of factories, the transformation into industrialized means of production and socialized producers. But the socialized producers and means of production and their products were still treated, after the change just as they had been before, as the property of the capitalists and the products of individuals. Hence, to the owner of the instruments of labor he had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product, and the assistance of others was the exception. The means of production and instruments of labor always appropriated to himself the product, although it was to longer his product but exclusively the product of the labor of others. Thus, the products now produced socially were not set in motion as the means of production and actually produced the commodities sold out by the capitalists. The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialized. But they remained in the form of appropriation, a form which presupposes the state of production of individuals, under which, therefore, everyone owns his own product.

dict and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests. The new mode, which gives to the new mode of production a new substantive character, contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today. The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all important fields of production and in all manufacturing countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residuum, the more clearly was brought to light the incompatibility of socialized production with capitalistic appropriation.

The first capitalisms found, as we have said, alongside of the mode of labor of wage labor ready-made for them on the market. But it was exceptional, complementary, accessory, transitory wage labor. The agricultural laborer, thought,

upon occasion, he hired himself out by the day, had a few acres of his own land and on which he could at all events live at a pinch. The guilds were so organized that the journeyman of today became the master tomorrow. By the time the system changed, as soon as the means of production became socialized and concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product, of the individual producer became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage worker under the capitalist. Wage labor, now becoming more and more necessary, now became the ruling basis of production. The former complementary, it now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage worker for a time became more a wage worker for life. The number of these permanent wage workers was furthermore enormously increased by the break-

ing up of the feudal system that occurred at the same time, by the disbanding of the mainers of the feudal lords, the extinction of the manorial system, the serfdoms, etc. The separation was made complete between the means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their labor power, on the other. The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation manifested itself as a new antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.

We have seen that the capitalist mode of production thrust its way into a society of commodity producers, of individual producers, whose social bond was the exchange of their products. But every society, based upon the production of commodities, has this peculiarity: that

"But it is equally true that among the most intellectual leaders of the Catholic church in Germany and Switzerland are ready to do the panoply of war to fight for the downtrodden masses. The memory of Archbishop von Kettler, the friend of Karl Marx, of Canons Monfang and Hiltz, Fathers Weiss and Kopling, and of Gaspard Decurtins, will live when the names of Rockefeller, Morgan and Rothschild will be mere hieroglyphs. The broad mind of the future Champollion will decipher."

"My love for the Catholic church is too profound to keep me silent when a disfigured representative of the lowly Nazarene openly condemns a righteous movement for the liberation of the toiling masses from the bondage of industrial serfdom."

every other form of production, has a peculiar, inherent law, inseparable from it; and these laws work, despite anarchy, in and through anarchy. They are themselves in the only persistent form of social inter-relations, i. e., in exchange and here they affect the individual producers as compulsory laws of competition. They are, at first, unknown to the producers themselves, and have to be discovered by experience. They work as the result of experience. They work themselves out, therefore, independently of the producers, and in antagonism to them, as inexorable natural laws their particular form of production. The product governs the producers.

In medieval society, especially in the earlier centuries, production was essentially directed towards satisfying the wants of the individual.

plots of land. They owned gardens and orchards, and they turned their cattle out into the communal forests, which they also, besides their own timber and birch, sold. The women spun flax, wool, and so forth. Production for the purpose of exchange and production of commodities was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted, the market narrow, the method of production stable; there was local exchange without local unity within the mark in the country, in the town, the guild.

But with the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old hands were loosened, the old exchange limits broken through, the producers were more and more turned into independent producers.

did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles began in their turn national conflicts, the commercial wars of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.

Finally, modern industry and the opening of a world-market made the struggle universal. At the same time gave rise, as an unnumbered witness, to the most natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. If a peasant farm is remorselessly cast aside, it is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for its existence transferred from nature to society with extended violence. The conditions of existence are forced to the fatal point as the basis of human development. The contradiction between socialized production

an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in modern production that turns the limitless possibilities of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

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When reminded that several ecclesiastics of high authority, led by Archbishop Corrigan, are making a determined campaign against Socialism, Father McGrady said:

The Building Trades' section meets the second and fourth Thursday of the month at the office of the Federated Trades' council, 318 State street.

The United States government is having a machine constructed in Washington that will displace thirty expert mathematicians in the bureau of coast survey which calculates the movement of the tides.

Resident Members.

BRANCHES.	32	28	47	24	5	51	43	12	20	18	29	19	1	9	8	4	11	17	39	38	16	23	
F. Heath.....	6	5	5	13	4	9	6	7	7	3	7	.....	5	13	8	7	18	.....	9	.....	.....	8	144
P. O. Rebfield.....	6	5	8	5	1	.....	1	2	2	.....	1	.....	3	22	.....	4	4	.....	9	.....	4	.....	77
H. C. Berger.....	5	.....	8	8	5	9	1	4	13	7	1	.....	2	6	8	11	6	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	111
Jon. Rummel.....	6	.....	.....	1	2	.....	3	.....	.....	1	1	.....	1	3	.....	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22
J. Doerfler.....	6	5	.....	8	.....	.....	3	3	17	7	.....	.....	1	2	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	8	73
H. Tuttle.....	.....	5	8	14	3	9	9	2	17	7	5	9	6	22	8	14	19	.....	.....	3	9	8	182
B. Ziegler.....	.....	5	.....	.....	4	9	2	5	4	2	1	9	5	2	.....	.....	15	.....	9	.....	11	.....	85
N. Anderson.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	1	3	4	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	37
J. Shehan.....	.....	.....	.....	6	2	.....	4	.....	4	4	1	.....	.....	11	.....	1	5	19	.....	8	.....	8	76
J. Hausman.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	2	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
G. Moerschel.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21
J. Hunger.....	.....	.....	.....	9	4	.....	3	4	3	5	6	.....	6	8	.....	1	.....	19	9	3	11	.....	107
P. Brockhausen.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	4	.....	1	1	1	9	.....	20	3	7	13	.....	9	8	8	8	101
R. Meister.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	.....	1	5	.....	3	2	9	1	9	3	8	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	64
B. Seidel.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	9	3	3	4	4	1	9	8	8	.....	8	11	19	.....	.....	13	.....	101
P. Siegel.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	4	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
C. A. Blodgett.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	1	5	.....	1	.....	.....	11	5	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	45

Additional committee members:

Non-Resident Members.

	82	28	47	24	6	51	43	12	20	18	29	19	1	3	17	11	4	9	89	38	16	28	
R. O. Stoll.....	6	5	8	13	8	9	4	8	6	4	1	9	7	8	10	23	10	23	9	8	13	8	204
C. A. Born.....	6	5	.....	8	7	.....	7	.....	17	10	8	9	0	8	10	23	9	14	9	.....	13	8	188
A. Roecher.....	6	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	1	.....	12	2	0	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	56
N. Venner.....	6	.....	.....	4	2	9	1	.....	5	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	17	.....	.....	10	.....	99
A. Zander.....	.....	5	.....	8	6	.....	7	.....	10	1	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	7	9	.....	.....	.....	52
B. P. Hassinger..	.....	5	8	.....	6	0	2	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	.....	8	6	.....	8	.....	.....	82
J. W. Born.....	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....	1	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	17
Aug. Muhr.....	.....	.....	8	1	4	.....	2	8	1	4	8	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	56
C. Allinger.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	5	.....	8	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	19	.....	.....	2	.....	8	.....	.....	34
E. G. Lindner.....	1	8	9	8	8	7	9	2	8	47
H. J. Amman.....	10	8	15	6	1	7	8	28	2	9	13	8	110	
M. Biedinger.....	8	8	1	1	0	8	23	9	9	8	8	8	82

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